

Message Text

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 TEL AV 03777 01 OF 02 201803Z
ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00
NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 HA-05 SSM-03 MCT-01 IO-13
NEAE-00 /082 W

-----063139 201813Z /43

O R 201707Z MAR 78
FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2043
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN
AMEMBASSY BEIRUT
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
USMISSION SINAI
USMISSION USUN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 TEL AVIV 3777

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PINT, MOPS, US, IS
SUBJECT: US AND UN UNDER FIRE; BEGIN MAY BE NEXT

REF: TEL AVIV 3721

1. SUMMARY: THE US IS BEING ROUNDLY DENOUNCED BY ISRAELI PRESS
FOR PRECIPITOUS ACTION TO FORCE IDF WITHDRAWAL AND EVENTUAL
REPLACEMENT BY UN TROOPS IN SOUTH LEBANON UNDER A VAGUE AND
INSUFFICIENT MANDATE BEFORE THE ARRIVAL IN THE US OF PRIME MINISTER
BEGIN. THE US IS SEEN TO HAVE ACTED IN UNDUE HASTE AND VARIOUS
EXPLANATIONS ARE OFFERED. THE UNSC RESOLUTION IS GENERALLY
CONSIDERED TO BE FLAWED AS A COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT FOR
SOUTH LEBANON. IT IS ARGUED THAT BEGIN AND CARTER MUST ARRIVE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 TEL AV 03777 01 OF 02 201803Z

AT POLITICAL ARRANGEMENTS WHICH WILL ENSURE THAT SOUTH LEBANON
REMAINS FREE OF PLO FORCES. SOME MAINTAIN THAT THIS MUST BE THE
MAIN SUBJECT OF THE CARTER/BEGIN TALKS. OTHERS STATE THAT
THE TALKS MUST FOCUS ON THE EGYPTIAN/ISRAELI PEACE PRO-
CESS. BEGIN IS BECOMING --TOGETHER WITH THE US AND THE UN--
A TARGET OF CRITICISM. HIS GOVERNMENT IS BEING
VARIOUSLY CHARGED WITH IMPROVISING, BEING UNREALISTIC,

AND LACKING A POLITICAL FOLLOW-THROUGH FOR THE MILITARY OPERATION. IN TERMS OF HIS DOMESTIC STANDING, BEGIN HAS LITTLE POLITICAL MANEUVERING ROOM. END SUMMARY

2. THE CUS IS UNANIMOUSLY EXCORIATED IN MEDIA AND IN COMMENTS BY MKS FOR WHAT IS SEEN AS PRECIPITOUS RESORT TO UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS. THE FACT THAT THE ADMINISTRATION DID NOT AGREE TO HOLD UP THE VOTE UNTIL AFTER BEGIN'S ARRIVAL--ONLY A MATTER OF THREE HOURS--WAS SEEN AS ADDING INSULT TO INJURY. IT IS FOR THIS REASON, ZIMUKI IN YEDIOT REPORTS, THAT DAYAN "TURNED DOWN VANCE'S PROPOSAL TO MEET WITH HIM" LAST NIGHT IN WASHINGTON.

3. VARIOUS EXPLANATIONS ARE OFFERED FOR WHAT IS SEEN HERE AS THE US GOVERNMENT'S UNDUE HASTE IN TRYING TO FORCE THE ISRAELI ARMY OUT OF SOUTHERN LEBANON. THEY INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING.

--THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION SOUGHT TO ACT BEFORE ISRAEL'S ALLIES IN CONGRESS AND ELSEWHERE COULD MOBOLIZE THEMSELVES TO PRESS FOR AN EFFECTIVE FORCE.

--THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION PURPOSE WAS TO RE-FOCUS THE UPCOMING TALKS ON THE EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI NEGOTIATIONS (DAVAR EDITORIAL).

--IT WAS AN EFFORT TO HEAD OFF MORE RADICAL ARAB RESOLUTIONS AND POLITICAL INITIATIVES HOSTILE TO THE US LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 TEL AV 03777 01 OF 02 201803Z

-IT WAS AN EFFORT TO DISPLAY US RESOLVE TO ISRAEL AND THE ARABS AGAINST USING TERRITORIAL GAINS AS BAR-GAINING CHIPS (AS SOME HERE ARE ARGUING BEGIN SHOULD BE DOING).

IT WAS AN EFFORT TO DISABUSE ARABS ON BELIEF IN CLOSE US-ISRAELI COORDINATION.

--THE US DID NOT WANT TO BE IDENTIFIED WITH THE EXTENSION OF ISRAELI OCCUPATION OVER ARAB TERRITORY; THIS WOULD HAVE MEANT HANDING THE SOVIET UNION A POLITICAL VICTORY ON A SILVER PLATTER.

--FINALLY, SOURCES IN THE BEGIN ENTOURAGE ARE QUOTED AS SAYING THAT THE RAPID RESORT TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL WAS AN EFFORT BY THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION TO CLOSE THE CHAPTER ON SOUTH LEBANON BEFORE BEGIN'S ARRIVAL IN ORDER TO NEGATE ANY PUBLIC RELATIONS ADVANTAGE ISRAEL MAY HOLD ON THAT SUBJECT.

4. THE RESOLUTION ITSELF IS UNANIMOUSLY FOUND UN-ACCEPTABLE HERE. IT IS SEEN AS BIASED BECAUSE IT CONTAINS NO CONDEMNATION OF THE KIND OF TERRORISM THAT PRECIPITATED THE IDF OPERATION. MORE IMPORTANT, HOWEVER, THE EMPLACEMENT OF UN TRROPS IN SOUTH LEBANON IS VIEWED AS

AN UNWORKABLE SOLUTION TO THE LEBANESE-PLO PROBLEM. WHILE THE RESOLUTION IS NOT CATEGORICALLY REJECTED, ISRAELIS CONSIDERED IT VITAL THAT IT BE ACCOMPANIED BY UNDERSTANDINGS WITH THE US AND ARRANGEMENTS WITH OTHER PARTIES (I.E. LEBANESE GOVERNMENT, SYRIA, PHALANGE) THAT WOULD ASSURE WHAT THE JERUSALEM POST CALLS "THE GUIDING PRINCIPLE" IS MET: "NO PLO BELOW THE LITANI". FOR THIS REASON THERE IS A

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 TEL AV 03777 02 OF 02 201809Z
ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00
NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 HA-05 SSM-03 MCT-01 IO-13
NEAE-00 /082 W

-----063185 201812Z /46

O R 201707Z MAR 78
FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2044
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN
AMEMBASSY BEIRUT
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
USMISSION SINAI
USMISSION USUN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 2 OF 2 TEL AVIV 3777

GROWING BELIEF THAT UN FORCES MUST BE STATIONED ON THE LITANI AND NOT ALONG THE ISRAELI-LEBANESE BORDER. EVEN THEN IT MUST BE UNDERSTOOD THAT THE IDF WILL GO BACK INTO LEBANON IF AND WHEN IT FEELS IT MUST. THUS, MAARIV EDITORIALIZES THAT THE BEGIN-CARTER VISIT MUST MARK THE BEGINNING OF DETAILED NEGOTIATIONS ON THE ADDITIONAL MEASURES WHICH MUST BE TAKEN TO MAKE A UN SOLUTION WORKABLE.

5. THE CARTER-BEGIN TALKS" WILL MAKE OR BREAK THE PEACE PROCESS" ACCORDING TO AMERICAN OFFICIALS QUOTED IN THE

JERUSALEM POST. IT IS PREDICTED HERE THAT THE MEETING WILL BE A TOUGH ONE.
THERE IS DISAGREEMENT HERE OVER WHAT SHOULD BE THE FOCUS OF THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 TEL AV 03777 02 OF 02 201809Z

TALKS. MANY CONTEND THAT SOUTH LEBANON MUST BE THE PRIMARY ISSUE UNDER DISCUSSION. OTHERS, GENERALLY THE DOVES, WOULD PREFER THE TALKS TO FOCUS ON ISRAELI-EGYPTIAN THEMES.

6. ALONG WITH CRITICISM OF THE US AND THE UN, THERE ARE THE FIRST SIGNS OF BEGIN COMING UNDER ATTACK ON SOUTH LEBANON FOR FAILURE TO THINK THROUGH THE NON-MILITARY ISSUES.
ALTHOUGH PERES HAS CALLED ON HIS PARTY TO HOLD OFF ON ATTACKING BEGIN, THE LABOR EXECUTIVE HAS ISSUED A STATEMENT AGAINST THE UN RESOLUTION AND EXPRESSED "AMAZEMENT THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS RESPONDED POSITIVELY". (LANDAU IN THE POST POINTS OUT THAT BEGIN'S EQUIVOCAL RESPONSE TO THE UN RESOLUTION IS IN FACT A CLEAR DEPARTURE FROM PREVIOUS LABOR GOVERNMENT POLICY.) THE FIRST VOICES CRITICAL OF BEGIN MAKE THE FOLLOWING CHARGES: THE UN RESOLUTION WAS NOT THE AGREEMENT ANYONE HAD IN MIND WHEN BEGIN SAID THE IDF WOULD REMAIN IN SOUTH LEBANON UNTIL AN ARRANGEMENT WAS REACHED. THUS, EITHER THE GOVERNMENT'S INTENTIONS AND DECLARATIONS WERE UNREALISTIC (DAVAR EDITORIAL) OR THE MILITARY OPERATION WAS NOT ACCOMPANIED BY CLEAR POLITICAL ANALYSIS, SO THAT THE GOI DID NOT FORESEE THE OBVIOUS (AL HAMISHMAR EDITORIAL), OR THE GOVERNMENT WAS SIMPLY NOT THINKING AT ALL BUT WAS IMPROVISING (YEDIOT EDITORIAL) THE CRITICISM THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS BEGINNING TO HEAR IS DIRECTED FROM BOTH THE RIGHT AND LEFT.

7. COMMENT: BEGIN IS IN A BIND IN LEBANON. UNLESS HE CAN COME BACK WITH AN AGREEMENT WHICH WILL GIVE TEETH TO THE UN PEACEKEEPING FORCE, HE WILL BE SEEN AS HAVING SQUANDERED THE POLITICAL FRUITS
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 TEL AV 03777 02 OF 02 201809Z

OF A MILITARY SUCCESS. IF ON THE OTHER HAND HE INSISTS ON GUARANTEES PRIOR TO AN IDF PULL BACK AND IN SO DOING PRECIPITATES A CONFRONTATION WITH THE US, HE MAY BE ABLE TO HOLD PUBLIC OPINION FOR A WHILE BUT ULTIMATELY WOULD FACE THE CHARGE OF HAVING FURTHER ERODED THE US CONNECTION. THE ROOM FOR POSSIBLE SUCCESSFUL

OUTCOMES IS VERY NARROW.

(IT IS SIGNIFICANT THAT SOME RIGHT

WING LIKUD FIGURES, SUCH AS MKS GUELA COHEN AND SHILANSKI,
ARE BEGINNING TO PRESSURE BEGIN FROM THE RIGHT ON SOUTH
LEBANON.)

8. THERE IS LITTLE CRITICISM HERE OF THE IDF'S ADVANCES
BEYOND THE INITIAL TEN KILOMETER POINT.
VIETS

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PROPAGANDA, PRESS COMMENTS, POLITICAL LEADERS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 20 mar 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978TELAV03777
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780122-1182
Format: TEL
From: TEL AVIV
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780345/aaaabmhc.tel
Line Count: 233
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 03e860c3-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION NEA
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 78 TEL AVIV 3721
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 05 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: N/A
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3263515
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: US AND UN UNDER FIRE; BEGIN MAY BE NEXT
TAGS: PINT, MOPS, SOPN, PROP, US, IS, (BEGIN, MENAHEM)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/03e860c3-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014